1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6



862 [273] true," *rotiaust* (*higelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomek*.

## Trade and Exchange

439 [648] [177] [582] [181] [186] The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to [437] the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

[435]
1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

[415] The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

## Cattle

231 [177] [648] The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

| | Cattle | Goats | Dogs |
|---|---|---|---|
| Koret of Kipkorom .. | 25 | 15 | 4 |
| Koret of Sosoiyo .. | 54 | 19 | 3 |
| Koret of Kelpui .. .. | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| | 90 | 34 | 7 |

[171] Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6



435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kerepet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kerepet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
439 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruos in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruos ; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number : 1. House-building ; 2. Hunting ; 3. Digging earth ; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[317] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give
[241] confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules ; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6



they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

**Bride-payment.** A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i. e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

**Gift exchange.** Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *coruet*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minin became the friend of a Nandi at Ollesos called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korucu in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *tisiet* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Serem on Farm 1479: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korucu being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

**Purchase.** The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Miniŋ acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

### *C. Techniques*

#### 1. Hunting

The dry weather, *owainonik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *imot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (kerepet) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Torset*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

shares the *imbaret*, each house having its own strip, the whole being surrounded by a thorn fence which all help to make. Each is therefore a family or clan *imbaret*, and the group is an independent labour unit. 241 423 [351] [614]

The grain crops are stored either in granaries of Nandi type, or else in the loft (*tapot*) of the hut; but as most of the crop is eaten before or soon after it is reaped, and as the yields are not large owing to the small areas planted, storage problems are not yet acute. Further supplies of food are got (1) by purchase or exchange; (2) by begging 251 261 [937] [735]

[P. 197, B]

one down each side of the nose, and one down the centre of each cheek. 789 [726] [823]

Now it seems that a particular material is not always essential, i.e. for a homicide either a goat or a sheep may be killed to get the *eiyat*, and a sick man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alternative is thus sometimes just as effective. But an essential feature is that the remedy must be something that is not easy to obtain; till quite recently, few Dorobo had any goats, sheep, or cattle from which they could get the necessary fat, *eiyat*, or butter, and even now many still lack them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure is an act of faith as much as anything else, and entails a possibly laborious search for the necessary material. There is also an economic implication, for when people have no stock they must buy the animals they need, so that into what might seem to be a purely ritual transaction, enters an element of business. 789 825 [231] 437

/233 cont./ As there,[1] the tanned
294 412 283 hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maramaog)
and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (asug). If a number of
439 hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own
• 437 use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden
with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where
the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it
permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held
markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they
[805] peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning,
they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers,
since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist
principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he
can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil
contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for
hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even
today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After
protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the
Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables.
If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant
or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the
always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example,
the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals
from the Wandorobo, others disdain it altogether, and therefore, in
trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

231 Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for
[887] game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp
especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 82),
a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are
wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 82 appears here/ 30
centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 25 centimetem.
231 322 412 They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree
trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After
the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-sec-
tion and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a
knife (pandyug). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out

1, [i.e., among the Masai--Analyst]